

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

USIA-15 NEA-10 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 SAM-01 OMB-01 IO-14

AEC-11 DRC-01 /139 W

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FM AMEMBASSY ROME

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3950

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: ATLANTIC RELATIONS

REF: A. STATE 57531

B. STATE 59882

1. IN ACCORDANCE INSTRUCTIONS CONTAINED REFTTEL, I CALLED ON MORO MARCH 26 TO MAKE DESIRED POINTS CONCERNING US VIEWS ON PRESENT STATE OF ATLANTIC RELATIONS. I NOTED THAT I WAS SPEAKING TO HIM UNDER INSTRUCTIONS AND MADE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

2. THE CURRENT PROBLEMS BETWEEN THE EC AND THE US ARE NOT A MATTER OF A SIMPLE MISUNDERSTANDING, NOR ARE THEY DEPENDENT ON ANY SINGLE PROBLEM SUCH AS EC-ARAB COOPERATION. ON THE CONTRARY, THE ISSUES WE HAVE RAISED ARE FUNDAMENTAL TO THE NECESSARY DEVELOPMENT OF AN ORGANIC CONSULTATIVE ARRANGEMENT BETWEEN THE US AND THE NINE. THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE CURRENT DIFFICULTIES BETWEEN AMERICA AND THE EC DOES NOT LIE WITH US AND WE THEREFORE HAVE NO APOLOGIES TO MAKE. WE SHALL MAKE NO FURTHER INITIATIVE, BUT WILL BE GLAD TO LISTEN IF THE NINE HAVE SUGGESTIONS. I THEN OUTLINED THE THREE OPTIONS WHICH WE SEE OPEN AT PRESENT, I.E., DROP BOTH DECLARATIONS, COMPLETE BOTH DECLARA-

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TIONS OR DROP THE US/EC DECLARATION AND CONTINUE WORK ON THE NATO

DECLARATION.

3. CONTINUING, I SAID THAT WE HAVE NO FIXED VIEWS AS TO WHICH OPTION WOULD BE BEST. WE FEEL THAT WHATEVER COURSE IS CHOSEN, IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT WE PROCEED PRIVATELY AND THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO FURTHER PUBLIC DISCLOSURES OR DEBATE. FINALLY, WITH REGARD TO THE ORGANIC CONSULTATIVE PROCESS, WE BELIEVE THAT THIS IS A SUBSTANTIVE ISSUE WHICH GOES TO THE HEART OF OUR PRESENT AND FUTURE RELATIONS. WHAT WE HAVE IN MIND IS THE POSSIBILITY TO EXPRESS OUR VIEWS AND HAVE THEM CONSIDERED PRIOR TO EC DECISIONS IN A MANNER RELEVANT TO THE EC DECISION-MAKING PROCESS.

4. AS A CASE IN POINT, I CITED THE EXAMPLE SET FORTH IN REFTEL B WHEREIN AN ITALIAN CSCE INITIATIVE ON THE MEDITERRANEAN WAS APPROVED BY THE NINE AND BROUGHT TO OUR ATTENTION ONLY ON THE SAME DAY THAT IT WAS CONVEYED TO THE ARAB MEDITERRANEAN STATES--THUS EFFECTIVELY PRECLUDING A US INPUT OR COMMENT PRIOR TO ITS BECOMING AN AGREED EC POSITION WHICH WAS COMMUNICATED TO OTHER PARTIES. I NOTED THAT THIS EXAMPLE POINTS UP ONCE MORE THE NECESSITY OF STRENGTHENING US-EC CONSULTATIONS ON MATTERS OF COMMON INTEREST.

5. FINALLY, I CONCLUDED BY STATING THAT THE RESOLUTION OF THESE OVERALL PROBLEMS WILL REQUIRE CAREFUL STUDY, PATIENT EFFORT, AND AN OPEN MIND. WE DO NOT EXPECT AN EASY OR EARLY REPLY. WE WOULD PREFER THAT THE NINE TAKE SUFFICIENT TIME TO CONSIDER THE FULL IMPORT OF THIS ISSUE AND TO PROPOSE PRACTICAL STEPS TO MEET THE PROBLEM, IF WE ARE TO REVITALIZE OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE EUROPEANS, AS WE HAVE BEEN TRYING FOR THE LAST YEAR. IT IS NOW UP TO THE EUROPEANS TO DECIDE HOW THEY WISH THAT RELATIONSHIP TO EVOLVE.

6. AFTER I FINISHED MY STATEMENT, MORO SAID THAT THE POINTS I RAISED CONCERNING THE FUTURE OF US/EUROPEAN RELATIONS REQUIRED CAREFUL STUDY WHICH WOULD NOT LEND ITSELF TO QUICK OR EASY RESPONSE. HE SAID THAT ENTIRE SUBJECT WOULD REQUIRE CONSULTATION AMONG THE NINE BEFORE A REPLY WOULD BE FORTHCOMING. HOWEVER, HE SAW NO PROBLEM IN PRINCIPLE WITH THE IDEA OF ORGANIC CONSULTATIVE ARRANGEMENT WITH THE US AS LONG AS SUCH CONSULTATION WAS RECIPROCAL AND IN ADVANCE.

7. FRANKLY, MORO SAID, AT THIS POINT HE WAS TERRIBLY CONFUSED
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ABOUT US INTENTIONS WHAT WITH THE VARIOUS DECLARATIONS BY THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY AND THE LATTER'S STOPOVERS IN CONNECTION WITH HIS CURRENT VISIT TO MOSCOW. SHOULD HE UNDERSTAND, FOR INSTANCE, THAT SECRETARY'S STOPOVER IN BONN WAS TO BE DEEMED CONSULTATION WITH THE NINE OR MERELY BILATERAL TALKS. BY THE SAME TOKEN, HE WAS UNCLEAR ABOUT SECRETARY'S SCHEDULED STOP IN LONDON THE RETURN LEG. SECRETARY HAD VISITED BOTH BONN AND LONDON NUMEROUS TIMES BUT HE NEVER VISITED ROME EVEN ON HIS FREQUENT VISITS TO THE

MIDDLE EAST. ITALY THUS GAINS THE IMPRESSION THAT IT DOES NOT COUNT FOR MUCH IN US ESTIMATION EVEN THOUGH THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT IN PAST HAS MADE MAJOR EFFORT TO BE HELPFUL IN IRONING OUT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE EC AND WASHINGTON.

8. I EXPLAINED THAT PRESIDENT'S RECENT PRESS CONFERENCES WERE NOT DESIGNED TO THREATEN EUROPE WITH WITHDRAWAL OF US MILITARY SUPPORT BUT MERELY TO STATE THE INESCAPABLE FACT THAT CONTINUED US SUPPORT DEPENDED UPON FAVORABLE CONGRESSIONAL ACTION. POSITION OF PRESIDENT CONTINUES TO BE THAT MAINTENANCE OF US MILITARY PRESENCE IN EUROPE IS IN US AS WELL AS EUROPEAN INTEREST.

9. MORO SAID THAT, IN HIS OPINION, TIME HAD COME FOR REFLECTION AND STUDY AND THAT FURTHER PUBLIC DECLARATIONS WOULD ONLY COMPLICATE PROBLEM. HOWEVER, ITALIANS BELIEVE DIFFICULTIES CAN BE OVERCOME ALTHOUGH THEY AND OTHER EUROPEANS WONDER WHY EUROPE ALONE IS BEING SINGLED
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